

VIETNAM COURIER

Information Weekly — 50, 146 Tran Hung Dao Street, Hanoi — Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

25 Years Ago

APPEAL for General Insurrection

(August 1945)

Dear compatriots,

OUR years ago in one of my letters I called on you to unite because unity is strength and only strength enables us to win back independence and freedom.

At present, the Japanese army has collapsed and the National Salvation movement has spread to the whole country. The Front for the Independence of Viet Nam (Viet Minh) is following the will of all social strata: intellectuals, peasants, workers, businessmen, soldiers, and from all nationalities in the country: Kinh, Tho, Nung, Muong, Man, etc. In the Front, our compatriots are marching side by side whether they are men or women, old or young, Buddhists or God-fathers, or agnostics.

Recently, the Viet Minh Front convened the Viet Nam People's Congress and appointed the National Liberation Committee to lead the entire people in the grim fight for national independence.

Such a development is a great advance in the history of our people's century-old struggle for liberation.

It heartens our compatriots and fills me with great joy.

However, it is not enough. Our battle is bound to be a long and hard one. Although the Japanese have been defeated, we shall not be liberated overnight. We still have to make further efforts and carry on the struggle. Our unity and militancy can our country to victory and independence.

The Viet Minh Front is at present the basis for our national union and struggle. Join the Viet Minh Front, give it your support, make it greater and stronger.

At present, the National Liberation Committee is a kind of provisional government. Unite around it and see to it that its policies and orders are carried out throughout the country!

In this way, our Fatherland will certainly regain independence and our people will certainly win freedom soon.

Dear compatriots,

The decisive hour in the destiny of our people has struck. Let us all rise up to free ourselves with our own strength.

Many oppressed peoples the world over are trying with each other in their attempts to recover independence. We cannot afford to lag behind.

Forward! Forward! Under the banner of the Viet Minh Front, compatriots, march forward valiantly!

NGUYEN AI QUOC

Editor's Note: Nguyen Ai Quoc was an assumed name of President Ho Chi Minh.

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RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(August 14 and 15, 1945)
(Excerpts)

ON THE INDOCHINA SITUATION

1) Since March 9, 1945*, Japanese brutality and inhumanity has become more and more apparent.

2) The Indo-Chinese peoples, reduced to misery and indignation, have turned to the revolution and even a number of mandarins have sided with it.

(Continued page 8)

Aug. 24

1970

No. 283

7th Year

25th ANNIVERSARY

of the

AUGUST REVOLUTION (Aug. 19, 1945)

and the

FOUNDING OF THE DRVN (Sept. 2, 1945)



AUGUST 1945: Rally in front of the Hanoi Municipal Theatre attended by units of the Liberation Army newly arrived from the Viet Bac.

SAIGON UNABLE TO CURB POPULAR OPPOSITION

OPPOSITION to the Thien-Ky-Khiem regime remained stiff this month and spread to numerous cities in South Viet Nam.

First of all, a strike of 10,000 Lambretta drivers of the public transport service in Saigon erupted on Aug. 5. At a meeting of representatives of the strikers, a petition was passed, demanding the lift of the ban on import of spare-parts which meant death to their trade. The action brought this popular means of transport in Saigon to a complete standstill.

THE student drive against the puppet regime had gained new momentum and always remained in the centre of anti-US demonstrations.

On Aug. 9, Huynh Tan Mam was returned as President of the Saigon General Association of Students (GAS); Pham Quang Hao, elected to the GAS Committee on the same occasion, had been, like Huynh Tan Mam, victimized by the puppet administration which had jailed them for months

on charges of "subversive manoeuvres" and "dealing with communists." Their election by an overwhelming majority vote to the leading body of the GAS showed the scope and bitterness of student enmity for the Thieu clique. The latter was known to have bailed their leaders only under increased student pressure.

Now, the students' objective has been summed up in the protest letter they sent to Thieu on Aug. 11 and that addressed on Aug. 10 to the Defense Ministry and the Head of the "Department of Military Training on Campuses"; immediate release of students still under detention, immediate end to acts of savage repression against students, and abolition of campus military training.

Earlier, the students had held meetings to make known their desiderata: On Aug. 9, "a bonfire of militancy" gathering 300 participants, and next day, at the locale of the GAS, a press conference, were given to this effect. At these rallies, students forced to undergo military

training at the Quang Trung camp in Thu Duc, and others, arrested on Aug. 5 when they visited striking Lambretta drivers, denounced the ill-treatment and brutalities inflicted on them by the puppet administration.

It was also reported that at the Quang Trung camp, reactionary military officers and instructors took reprisals for student protests by victimizing those students who came there for military training, without which they would be barred from exams and risk being drafted into the puppet army before they finished school. The students complained about the overstrain that hit them, being forced to terminate, in 4 weeks, a training programme designed for 9 weeks; deplorable material living conditions brought the sick rate to 90% among the trainees, etc.

On Aug. 12, at the premises of the GAS, 9 students held a 24-hour hunger-strike in protest against such ill-treatment.

One of the student representatives, arrested on Aug. 5

(Continued page 8)

25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION AND THE FOUNDING OF THE DRVN

A Cause Whose Triumph Is a Certainty

THE struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States which began in 1959 has been kept up from generation to generation against the American exploiters and rulers. Against ever more racism, exploitation and repression, they have risen up and met violence with violence. This has been the tenor of their movement since August 11, 1945 when thousands of Black Americans (Los Angeles) flew to arms against the brutalities of police and racists.

The "hot summers" of 1965, 1967 and 1968 shook the States and were the terror of the American rulers.

Since its inauguration, the Nixon-Agnew tandem has frenziedly stepped up the repression of Black people. But the stubborn resistance of the latter in 1969 and those "new hot summers" were forthcoming.

The Afro-Americans in the US have realized that only by force of arms can freedom and liberation be achieved.

They have understood that they must not only battle for democratic liberties and the right to work, but also for the emancipation of tens of thousands of Black people in the US. The most lucid leaders in the Black people's movement are also aware that the goal is to return home through their own unity and their solidarity with progressive White Americans and with the world revolutionary movement against the common enemy US aggression imperialism.

The struggle of the Afro-Americans in the US has great revolutionary significance for the liberation of peoples and social progress. It occupies a very important strategic position in the unfolding fight in the US ring leader of imperialism and world policeman.

The Vietnamese people follow with deep sympathy and great joy the progress of the Black people in the US in their struggle. Like the Vietnamese people, the Black American people will certainly carry the day.

80th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (August 20, 1970)

THE US SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE NFL AND PRG TEN POINTS

WHILE the American puppet delegates harped on old themes, the envoys of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam produced new proofs of Nixon's continued intensification and expansion of the Indochina war: all the while in the US, the US imperialists had turned into attacks against South Viet Nam: Huong Lop village, north of the DMZ, had been razed to the ground by US aircraft, including B-52's; additional Saigon and Thai troops had been sent to Laos, etc.

Mr Nguyen Minh Vy (DRVN) concluded that for the Conference to progress the Nixon administration must give serious consideration to the overall ten-point solution of the NFL and the PRG of RSVN.

ON August 12, 1970, the Treaty of Friendship, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic was signed.

Under the treaty, the two parties affirm their endeavour to further the normalization of the situation in Europe undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force in any matter affecting security in Europe or international security, as well as in their mutual relations, undertake to respect without restriction the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present frontiers; declare that they have no territorial claims against anybody, regard the present frontiers of all states in Europe as

the continuous growth of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the all-round development of the GDR and its rising international position, of the solidarity of the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty, and also as a result of the failure of the Kissinger Government's new "Cet-Politik," the Willy Brandt administration has had to sign the USSR-West Germany Treaty.

This is a blow dealt at the ambitions of the bellicose and revanchist forces in West Germany which have been fostering the neo-fascist organization headed by Von Thadden and plotting to change the map

Fully aware of the West German imperialists' schemes

Hanoi Press Opinion

On USSR - West Germany Treaty

inviolable, including the Oder-Neisse line which forms the Western frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

As a matter of course, the Vietnamese people regard the AFL-American fight for self-liberation as their comrades-in-arms and allies. The higher Nixon escalates the Viet Nam war, the harsher is his crackdown on the Black people and the more progressive forces in the US. As the Indochina war drags out and spreads, the toll of young Black American lives increases, while they are being mowed by their own people's battle at home.

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and manoeuvres, the press and public opinion in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries interests against the most bellicose and reactionary tendencies of West German imperialism. The Brandt administration has had to begin facing to a certain extent the facts in Europe, to recognize *de facto* the German Democratic Republic, and to carry out infiltration, sabotage and subversion against the East-European socialist countries and check the influence of socialism.

The world's peoples should keep their weather eyes open over the "New Eastern policy" and peaceful evolution strategy that West Germany, in collusion with the US imperialists, is striving to carry out.

It is time the Brandt government renounced West German expansionism and revanchism, recognized *de jure* the GDR, and respected the legal status of West Berlin as an independent political entity.

As a member of the socialist camp now engaged in a stubborn resistance against the US imperialists' cruel war of aggression, the Vietnamese people have always staunchly supported the effort of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries against the expansionist and annexationist tendencies of West German revanchism and for the defence of peace and security in Europe and in the whole world.

NHAN DAN (The People)
Aug. 14, 1970

Vietnam COURIER

2-9-1945 2-9-1970

The D.R.V.N.
is
25
years old

Some Figures

PUBLICATIONS

In 1959, the record year under colonialism, 1,570,000 copies of books were printed for the whole of Viet Nam. In 1969, in North Viet Nam alone the total was 38 million, i.e. 25 times over, dealing with a great variety of subjects.

LIBRARIES

BEFORE 1945, in the whole of Indochina (Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia) there were about 100 libraries with a very small collection. Today there exist in North Viet Nam 199 libraries run by cultural services. In 1969, the National Central Library was patronized by 165,000 readers (at a time when many public services and all schools and universities evacuated the city).

CINEMA AND THEATRE

UNDER the colonial regime, the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese never went to the cinema or theatre. In 1960 alone the performances of Central Dance and Song Ensembles drew audiences totalling 2,120,710 and film shows recorded 86.5 million attendances. Most of the films were produced by Vietnamese studios.

MUSEUMS

THERE was in the whole of Indochina only the Doni Finot Museum. In North Viet Nam, there are now, besides the Museums of History, Revolution, Arts and of Haiphong, many small others: the Nghi Tinh Soviet Museum, the Museum of Dien Bien Phu, Viet Bac, Mong Cai (in Quang Ninh province) and some 400 hundred small museums in provinces, districts, villages. In the past ten years the Revolutionary Museum was visited by 2 million people and 5 foreign delegations.

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

UNDER colonial domination, there was only a College of Fine Arts. The largest class had 10 students.

Now there are four colleges: Fine Arts, Industrial Art, Music and Library; 13 intermediate vocational schools, including two Cultural and Arts schools for the Viet Bac and Ton Loc autonomous zones. Elementary schools of Fine Arts have been operating or will be opened in provinces or towns.

Tens of thousands of middle and high level cultural workers have been formed in schools (3,300 cadres) or in refresher courses (6,700); in addition, there are 500 cadre trained abroad and many batches of graduates from elementary art schools.

If activists of millions of clubs, scores of thousands of amateurs' artistic teams and ensembles, and thousands of amateurs who have gone through basic refresher courses are included, we now can boast an important contingent of cultural workers.

A National Socialist Culture Promoted

THE Vietnamese people are possessed of an age-old national culture. Original, patriotic and progressive, it has been maintained and developed in the course of a long and arduous struggle against foreign invasion.

For nearly a century, French colonialism did its best to damage and enslave it. It also undertook a vast effort of obfuscation and dehumanization against our people. Ninety-five per cent of Vietnamese were illiterate. Millions of people never read a book nor went to the cinema or theatre in their life time. Gambling, drinking, opium addiction, prostitution, were rife.

That is why the Indochinese Communist Party (now Viet Nam Workers' Party) organized the combat against the cultural enslavement as part and parcel of the national liberation movement.

As early as 1943, in its *Theory of National Policy* the Party advocated the promotion of a new culture with "a national democratic content."

That line won over patriotic and progressive writers within the Cultural Association for National Salvation, they fought side by side with the people against the French colonialists. The Japanese invaders invaded and advanced them in the exciting days of the August 1945 Insurrection.

A National Cultural Congress was held in the first months of the new regime. On the agenda were such items as: mission of culture

in the new revolutionary stage, a culture serving the resistance war and national construction with as objectives the wiping out of the invading landlords and usurers. Cultural activities helped push such immediate tasks as: increased production, anti-literacy campaign, printing book and periodical distribution services.

The cinema made its debut in 1945. Short films were shot in Viet Nam and in the South. Film-making teams, artistic groups and ensembles were set up by the government, local administration and army.

In short, the service at the service of the resistance was blooming everywhere and made a great contribution to the Dien Bien Phu victory.

With the re-establishment of the government in 1945, a new revolutionaries' army appeared. The institution of the Ministry of Culture in September 1955 marked a new step in the organization of the cultural work. Since then, there has been progress with three tasks to inculcate socialism in the masses, popularize Marxism-Leninism, erase the vestiges of bourgeois petty-bourgeois and feudalistic spirit from the cultural standard of the masses, vulgarize science and technology to help boost production, fight outmoded manner and customs, meet the material, literary and artistic requirements of the masses.

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The Yen Lien Thuong agricultural co-op, Ninh Binh province, has been awarded a Labour Order, 3rd class, for its achievements in mass culture.
Photo: At the co-op's reading-room.

THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

Reminiscences of General Vo Nguyen Giap

At the Potsdam Conference in late July that year (1), the Allies had decided to divide Indochina into two zones, disarming of Japanese troops were to be disarmed south of the 16th parallel by British troops and north of that line by the French. Naturally, on this important job our people had not been consulted. Under US pressure, the French too had been left out.

Yet before the Chinese came a number of French officers had appeared at the site of members of an American mission who had landed shortly before at Hanoi airport.

The French officers were taken by the Japanese to the Metropole Hotel where a number of French residents were staying. The sight of French uniforms immediately aroused the enmity of Hanoians who came in increasing number to demonstrate before the hotel. Defying Japanese bayonets, they cut up the barbed wire before the building. In face of popular indignation, the Japanese military police hurriedly escorted the French officers to the former governor-general's Palace which at that time was still used as Japanese Headquarters of the Japanese occupation army.

Several months before, at the revolution base, we had heard about De Gaulle's declaration on a new political regime for Indochina. According to his statement, Indochina was to be a Federation comprising five different "states" (apart from Laos and Cambodia, Viet Nam was to be divided into three states: Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina). These states would enjoy "internal autonomy." A federal government would be formed, headed by a governor-general representing France. This in essence meant that French policy toward Indochina was not to be altered.

Learning of the Mikado's imminent surrender, the French took immediate action. Several groups comprising officers, administrators, intelligence agents in China, Ceylon, Madagascar were ordered to enter Indochina and to even greater measure. They were paraded at several points in the North, the Centre and the South. Some came by sea. Unaware of the deep changes our country had undergone through, many French agents got into contact with former mandarins and village officials to whom they showed their credentials. Most of them fell into our hands, some were caught by the Japanese.

A few days after our return to Hanoi we came that immediately after the Japanese surrender, the

French expeditionary corps in the Far East, organized long before the war ended, was promptly dispatched to Indochina. Lecointe, a famous general of the French Liberation war, had been appointed its commander-in-chief, and Admiral d'Argenlieu, a former priest and an intimate of De Gaulle, became High Commissioner for Indochina. French troops still afloat after World War II were sailing in a hurry for Indochina. From the other end of the earth, guns were being aimed at our revolution.

The appearance of a delegation of a dozen of French officers in Hanoi caused great concern to Uncle Ho and to our comrades. How could the French get here before the Chieng Kai-shek troops had come? What was the attitude of the Allies especially that of the Americans and of Chiang Kai-shek, toward the French of the Indochina? That we must know?

Our capacity as a delegation of the people's regime, I and other comrades met the US mission. During that interview we were informed that the division of Japanese troops north of the 16th parallel was still to be performed by Chiang Kai-shek troops. We also found that the Americans and the French in Hanoi had been fighting one another. While the French were frantically trying to stage a comeback to Indochina, an American officer named Patti, for a still unknown reason, had given his support for the Viet Minh's struggle against the Japanese.

In face of our nation-wide revolutionary offensives, the defeated Japanese felt greatly embarrassed. Our attacks in Viet Bac had given them food for thought. If they set their faces against the revolution, what would be their fate after they had been dispersed by Allied troops? The Japanese had realized that it would do them no good to raise difficulties for Vietnamese patriots.

On August 23, 150,000 people from the city and the suburbs took to the streets. The Standing Committee handed in a petition demanding Bao Dai's abdication. Insurrectional armed forces occupied administration offices and arrested leaders. Under the impact of the revolutionaries' uprising, Bao Dai declared his readiness to give up his throne.

On August 25, the uprising had spread to most provinces in Nam Bo (South Viet Nam). Eight hundred thousand inhabitants of Saigon - Cholon started a demonstration. The Vietnamese seen by Uncle Ho was faced to run a few days after his arrival. Faced with the people's might, the tens

of thousands of Japanese troops in the area had to close their eyes to the demonstrations.

Comrades Tran Huy Lieu and Nguyen Ngan Bang were sent by Uncle Ho to open the gate of the Royal Citadel was wide open to receive the Delegation of the Revolution. Han Dai read his abdication act, handed over his sword and announced he had given up a free country. An enthusiastic crowd of tens of thousands witnessed the last moments of the puppet dynasty.

It was indeed hard to believe that they were soldiers of a victorious army. They had a livid complexion and a bewildered look. Dressed in ragged, dirty yellow uniforms, they were carrying heavy loads with cumbersome poles. Some groups were accompanied by women and children. Many fellows could hardly drag their swollen feet. The crowd which had been established over the entire country, the eighty-year-old colonial rule, together with the feudal regime of several thousand years, had been smashed. Yellowish flags, a product of

Kingsburg were indicative of the



Saigon on the day of seizure of power during the August, 1945 Revolution.

of the short-lived Japanese domination, were taken away like worm-eaten leaves, rapidly sinking into oblivion.

THE owners of the house in Hang Ngang Street in Hanoi had put the first floor at our disposal. The whole second floor had been reserved for Uncle Ho to give him a quiet working place. But he did not like to leave a whole floor, so he remained downstairs. In those days, comrades To (4) and Hoan (3), on Uncle Ho's instructions, were still remaining at Tan Trao. For the servants and neighbours who had been separated and young country relatives on a journey to the capital. Comrade Ninh (4)

Viet Minh Front's policy of broad union of all social segments for national construction.

Uncle Ho was in the chair at the first meeting of the [Party] Standing Committee in Hanoi. The insurrection had been successful in nearly all provinces. But a central revolutionary government had not been set up. The situation at home and abroad called for urgent measures. The Standing Committee decided that the composition of the Provisional Government should be announced without delay, and a meeting organized when the new government made its first public appearance. All that had to be done before the bulk of the Chiang Kai-shek army showed up.

The Standing Committee had resolved that the presentation day of the Provisional

(Continued page 8)

who then sported a thick, uncared-for beard, was mis-uncared for an old man."

The floor we occupied had been used as dining-room and drawing-room so there was no writing-desk. Uncle Ho sat before a large table to write. In a corner was his typewriter, placed on a small square table covered with green baize.

After working hours, we took a rest in the plain. One could lie down on a mat, another would use a number of assembled chairs for a bed. Uncle Ho slept on a deck-chair which until then had been folded up and put aside in a corner.

On the morning of August 26, we got the news of the arrival of the Liberation Army units at Gia Lam. Comrades Nguyen Khang (5) and Vuong Van (6) went to meet Uncle Ho.

Only after tough negotiations did the Japanese agree to let the Liberation troops

possible the movement of the Chiang Kai-shek troops by preexisting difficulties caused by the big regulations of boats.

A number of Liberation Army units had been ordered to move from Thai Nguyen to Hanoi. Their journey was a long one, as the roads had been damaged by flood. The Hanoians had waited more than a week before, but the capital's armed forces were made up of only self-defence units and security forces just gone over to the revolution. This was the case.

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by the two atomic bombs dropped on that country. The truth was that while in Europe they waited until the German fascists were on their legs to open the second front, in the Pacific area, after being drubbed by the Japanese, they only waged a limited war against the latter. Of 100 Japanese divisions, 60 operated in China and Korea and one million elite soldiers were pinned down in the northeast of China to face an eventual attack by the Red Army. The balance was not held by the atomic bombs which killed hundreds of thousands of civilians at the time when the Japanese fascists were in their death throes, but by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Mongolia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Indochina.

US imperialism has been trying to revive Japanese militarism and its war potential, and using it as a shock force against the whole of the Asian continent. It has tied Japan tightly to its war chariot by a series of economic, political and military pacts and agreements. After the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, it has regarded Japan as the linchpin of its nuclear strategy in Asia and turned her into a main base from which to infiltrate the Far East.

The Japanese monopolies, reversely, have done their best to utilize the US in order to achieve their Greater

Asia, especially the Viet Nam war. Meanwhile the potentiality of the Japanese monopolies and their position in the relation with the US have been reinforced.

Nixon assumed office at a time when the US global strategy had suffered heavy setbacks, especially the Indochina morass. One of the important points of his "new Asian policy" is a greater use of the potentiality of Japan to carry out US neo-colonialism in Asia, first and foremost to cope with the growing resistance of the Indochinese peoples. In his February 18, 1970 report on "US foreign policy in the seventies," Nixon made it clear that Japan was to play an important and unique role in the development of Asia and US-Japan co-operation was to be the keystone of the success of the Nixon doctrine on Asia. The design of the Japanese reactionary rulers is to capitalize on Nixon's "new policy" on Asia to push up their expansionist and aggressive scheme in this region. In his talks with Nixon on November 21, 1969, Sato said: "The US has a great responsibility for the security of Asia. But Japan will play the leading role in economic and technical aid."

25 Years after Japanese Capitulation

MILITARISM REVIVED

Rallied within the Viet Minh Front, and led by the Communist Party, the Vietnamese people heroically took part in this great effort of the Asian and world's peoples against Japanese aggression.

US-JAPAN AGGRESSIVE ALLIANCE

After World War II, the US has become the topmost aggressive imperialist. Under its global strategy, it has been pursuing the revival of German militarism in Europe and, in contravention of the international agreements signed on Japan, has resuscitated bellicose and aggressive elements there. Thanks to this assistance Japan, one of the countries the hardest hit by the war, has become the quickest capitalist country to recover and develop its post-war economy.

At present, in the capitalist world, Japan comes after the US in gross national product and after the US and West Germany in industrial output. However, Japanese monopoly has become greatly dependent on its US opposite number.

Hard hit by her defeat which stripped her of all colonies, outlets, sources of food and raw material supplies and all major areas where to accumulate and invest capitals, Japan would not have been able to rehabilitate and develop herself without US help. The relations between the US and Japan after World War II confirm Lenin's

East Asia dream shattered by the Asian peoples. On US orders, since 1950 Japan has begun to restore her military force labelled "reserve police" placed under the command of 400 out of 3,200 ex-fascist officers set free by the then US-Japanese authorities. Up to now, with US assistance, the Japanese government has been carrying out a "national defence project" which is in fact a scheme to strengthen their war apparatus. As revealed by the American press, Japan possesses a military strength still smaller in number than that in World War II, but six times greater in firepower, and eight times in mobility and a commanding staff which makes it possible to officer a one-million strong war establishment.

Since the early fifties, the Japanese rulers have been tailing after the US in military adventures in Asia. Japan was a logistic base for the US in the Korean war and chipped in a 25,000-strong force for that war under US command. In 1963, together with the US imperialists, the Japanese authorities elaborated a "three-prong" plan of aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union. On June 22, 1963, the Sato government and Pak Jung Hi signed the Japan-ROK treaty with a view to setting up the aggressive North-East Asia Treaty Organization and enslaving South Korea. This US-Japan collusion in the aggression against Asia and the socialist camp has been transparent in the various stages of development of the Japan-US "security

trophy" signed in 1951, changed into the Japan-US "joint security and co-operation treaty" on January 19, 1960 with an extension amendment signed on June 23, 1970. Under the label of "defence" and "equal co-operation relations," this treaty, after a decade of implementation, has made of Japan the biggest military base to efficiently serve the US bellicose and aggressive policy in Asia, especially the Viet Nam war.

The Vietnamese people are firmly convinced that in face of the high vigilance and militant solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peoples of the socialist countries and progressives in the world including those in the United States and Japan, the US imperialist aggressors and their confederates will certainly be defeated.

The First Election... in the Village

EDITOR'S NOTE: Nguyen Dinh Thi, born in 1924, belongs to a generation of young writers influenced by the Revolution and the Resistance. During the resistance against the French colonists (1946-1954) he was a battalion political commissar and had published poems of a new lyricism and a novel, *Nang Kich* (Shock Troops), on the life of a popular combatant, which was awarded a literary prize.

One of his works on the present resistance against US aggression, *Mat Tran Tran Cao* (High-Up Front), had been adapted in French by Muadeline Riffaud.

Nguyen Dinh Thi is Secretary General of the Association of Vietnamese Writers.

Below is an excerpt from his novel *Vo Ba* (Dykes Break) which vividly describes life in North Viet Nam during the years preceding the 1945 August Revolution.

XOAN (1) headed straight to Canh village, lights were seen glimmering in some houses, a few rifle shots were heard, and there was a great general commotion. Passing by school-teachers Hoi's, Xuan heard the man talking and laughing with many people. She again stopped to look around. People were justing one another standing on tiptoe to get a look at the platform where a row of self-defense corps members were lined up, some armfuls with rifles, others with spears. The red flag with a golden star was held high by one of them in the central compartment, one could now and then get a glimpse of the school-teacher. On the (2) platform register Xuan, Ba and five or six others sitting around the chairman, chief again bowed submission.

A great tumult rose among the crowd around Xuan.

"Look! Ton, that headman Ton, coming!"

Ton, who was to stand up to see better, two men carrying rifles across his back, was also saying something. The school-teacher was again heard to say: "What a day!

"What a day! What a day! Friends! Unfold the flag, and let's all go to the communal house!" A red flag with a golden star appeared amidst the crowd and set fire to the cooking place. The flames gradually disappeared in the distance.

Xuan returned to her kitchen, poured rice into the cooking-pot. She too ought to go to the village house to see what was going on there. What about the rice? She moved about nervously, not knowing what to do.

"Xuan! Xuan! It's you, Hien? I'm coming!"

The girl, with her little sister Nga in her arms, rushed into the house.

"Come to the communal house with me! All my people are there! My father, my mother too! Come, come, come! So many people are already there!"

"But I've got the cooking to do!"

"No, you must go! Do you hear there the tam-tam?"

"Oh yes! so the Viet Minh is only our village people!"

All right, Anyhow, let's heat the pot off the fire! As she got up, Hien grasped her hand and drag-

(Continued page 7)

her out of the kitchen. Xuan broke into laughter.

"What are you doing, Hien? Give me little Nga, I'll carry her!"

Little Nga, also excited, uttered joyful cries.

When the girls reached the communal house courtyard, were wagging on, surverying a great crowd assembled outside. People were justing one another standing on tiptoe to get a look at the platform where a row of self-defense corps members were lined up, some armfuls with rifles, others with spears. The red flag with a golden star was held high by one of them in the central compartment, one could now and then get a glimpse of the school-teacher, then Cai, said calling him to him. The chairman, chief again bowed submission.

Suddenly, a perfect silence reigned in the courtyard. There they came! Cai whispered something to a self-defense corps member who repeated it to his comrades. The men pointed their rifles skywards and a click was heard as they prepared to let off a salvo.

"Fire!"

Shots from the six rifles rent the air, scaring off the birds in the fragrance and longans around the communal house. The powder's smoke slowly dispersed. Cai stepped onto the platform.

"Respected elders, dear friends... we invite you all to sit down. Sit down, please! Don't shout like that! Come, put your gun together. Please keep quiet so that the Committee can see to their business!"

Cai spoke slowly and from the end of the courtyard out, his voice still clear, thin distinctly. Xuan listened and understood what was said, but the words seemed to be hovering around her, she couldn't remember everything. But what mattered most was that the platform where only district mandarins, canton and village chiefs could come and bluster, bringing woe to many families every time they opened their mouths, was the communal place. Cai was now standing with twisted hair, bare feet, a patched-up faded brown shirt, short trousers which reached down only to the knee, just like everybody else sitting here.

"The Committee, what's that?"

"Just those men in the house, must be that!"

"Oh yes! so the Viet Minh is only our village people!"

The courtyard was now in a great tumult. Everybody yell like that!"

(Continued page 7)

Literary Activities

A scientific symposium on "Uncle Ho and Literature and Arts" has just been held by the Literature Institute of the Viet Nam Social Sciences Committee. Present at the gathering were literary researchers, writers and journalists. Their speeches focused on these main themes:

- President Ho Chi Minh's literary career,
- President Ho Chi Minh's writings on literature and arts and the press,
- President Ho Chi Minh's influence on modern literature,
- Vietnamese literary workers' feelings for President Ho Chi Minh.

"What he's doing, the headman?"
"What are you doing, Hien? Give me little Nga, I'll carry her!"
"Go! Go!"

"That is the end of three generations of villages tyrants."

Around Xuan, tongues were wagging on, surveying a great crowd assembled outside. People were justing one another standing on tiptoe to get a look at the platform where a row of self-defense corps members were lined up, some armfuls with rifles, others with spears. The red flag with a golden star was held high by one of them in the central compartment, one could now and then get a glimpse of the school-teacher, then Cai, said calling him to him. The chairman, chief again bowed submission.

"That's my father, Xuan, my father!"

Xuan kept staring on the platform, so as not to miss anything. Her heart beat fast, in her two hands held his eyes riveted on the seaborn and the rolled-up certificates on the table. The school-teacher, then Cai, said calling him to him. The chairman, chief again bowed submission.

On July 1970 a treatise entitled *Kieu and Realism* of Nguyen Du by Le Dinh Ky, a professor of the Literature Faculty of Hanoi General University, was published by the Social Sciences Publishing House. It is an elaborate study of the most outstanding Vietnamese poet of the 18th century and his master work.

The Popular Literature and Arts Section of the Hanoi Teachers Training College has recently convened a scientific conference where were submitted such useful reports as: *Some Traces of the Hung Dynasty in Legends and Customs of Vinh Phu Province*, *Some Melodic Problems in Vietnamese Popular Songs*, etc.

550 treatises on social sciences have been of late completed by many colleges and universities. Among the valuable and interesting works were *To Huu's Poetry in Three Decades*, *Tay Nung Minority Nationality's Folklore, Artistic Style in Vietnamese Traditional Popular Poetry*, etc.

The literary section of Yen Bai province has just reported on the first stage of a literary competition launched since May 1, 1969; 7 out of 16 short stories and 11 out of 327 poems have been given prizes. The competition will go on till the end of the year.

The Vietnamese Writers' Union is feverishly preparing the first school year in 1971 of the College of Writers for the most talented among young writers and poets.

An Important Literature Work Under Way

THE Social Sciences Committee has just been charged by the Government with the elaboration of a treatise on the history of Vietnamese literature.

A body of researchers has been appointed, which includes professors and literature specialists, under the direction of Dang Thai Mai, President of the Literature Institute.

The supervisory group will be headed by Deputy Minister of Culture Ha Huynh.

Vietnamese literature has a time-honored history and counts great classical works such as *Kieu* by Nguyen Du. Nevertheless, up to the

August 1945 Revolution, it had not been an object of systematic studies.

Since the reconquest of independence, our higher education schools and teams of researchers have completed many epistles of history of Vietnamese literature. But only now is a decisive effort being made to compile a scientific work aimed at reflecting the soul, spirit and vitality of the Vietnamese nation and at the same time draw—at least as an initial step—the law of development of Vietnamese literature in the historical context of an unrelenting struggle for national independence.

(Continued page 7)

News from CAMBODIA

★ US War Escalation Condemned

THE spokesman of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued on Aug. 11 a statement strongly condemning the massive and widespread B-52 bombings on Cambodian territory as a fresh act of aggression of US imperialism. In face of such acts of aggression, Khmer people will stiffer their resolve to fight until victory, whatever the efforts and sacrifices they may have to make, the statement stressed.

★ National Union Royal Government Denies All Accords Signed by Lon Nol-Sirik Matak

[A statement dated August 15, 1970, the National Union Royal Government of Cambodia recalled that in its May 4, 1970 statement, it had announced its decision to honour all international agreements, treaties and protocols signed by Cambodia up to March 18, 1970. Consequently, it does not recognize and will not recognize any bilateral or international treaties, agreements or accords concluded or renewed since March 18, 1970 onwards between the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and the other governments or international organizations.

★ Khieu Samphan Appointed Vice-Premier

ON August 19 a communiqué of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia announced that on the initiative of the PRUNK Politbureau and Prime Minister Pao Nouth, by a decree of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and President of the FUNK, M. Khieu Samphan was appointed Vice-Premier while retaining his function as Minister of National Defence.

★★★

News from LAOS

THE TWO LAO PRINCES'-REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET AT KHANG KHAY

PRINCE Souphanouvong has agreed to Prince Souvanna Phouma's proposal dated June 25, 1970 for meeting at Khang Khay between representatives of the two princes. This was notified to Prince Souphanouvong by Tiao Souk Vongsa, Prince Souphanouvong's special envoy, who arrived in Vientiane on July 31, in an interview with Phouma on August 11. Tiao Souk Vongsa stressed that Prince Souphanouvong's acceptance was a further proof of the good will of the Lao people to contribute to a peaceful solution of the Lao problem.

It is to be recalled that the necessity of a peaceful solution in Laos has been pointed out by the Lao Patriotic Front in Prince Souphanouvong's message brought... Prince Souvanna Phouma by envoy Prithivit Theng Tham in Vientiane five months ago (March 20). On June 11, Prince Souvanna Phouma spoke with positive proposals for ending at Khang Khay between the two prince's representatives. This has prompted Prince Souphanouvong to send Tiao Souk Vongsa to Vientiane with a message and full powers to discuss with Prince Souvanna Phouma practical matters related to the preparations for the meeting.

HOWEVER, according to the latest news the Vientiane administration has decided to raise new obstacles to the agreement of principle on the forthcoming meeting at Khang Khay between representatives of the two princes. It has appointed a "government delegation" to talk with the "other side" term by it a "political party".

In connection with the July 18 *KPL*, the *Patset Lao* news agency, castigated this an utterly arrogant move on the part of the Vientiane administration. *KPL* pointed out that this administration was set up by a party and was not recognized by the Lao Patriotic Front, since the tripartite national administration government set up in 1969 had been withdrawn by the rightist coup d'état of April 19, 1969.

Thus if the present exchange of views on the proposed meeting of representatives of the two princes does not make headway, the blame must be laid at the door of the Vientiane administration and Prince Souvanna Phouma, *KPL* concluded.

(Continued from page 3)

The First Election...

(Continued from page 6)

The communal courtyard was now witnessing a great change. The people, dressed in their best clothes, were laughing, others cheering. It was a din as at the market-place. Then Xuan saw old Tee rise to his feet, wave his hand, shout out: "That headman, so let us spare his life! But he was very fond of beating people, I propose that we take off his pants and give him a stick, spank him with a stick, just as the powder's smoke..."

Cai again stepped out. "Now, fellow-citizens, we shall set up the new administration, we shall elect the village liberation committee..."

Xuan was still listening, dazed. Some people were whispering around her.

"That's right! Let's do it!" "Give him thirty strokes!" "Pull off his trousers!"

Two self-defense corps members dragged out the village chief and stretched him on the platform. One man seized a heavy stick. The hubbub in the courtyard was intense. That stick struck the chief, hundreds of people burst into loud laughter, until the headman, grasping the upper part of his trousers, his hair falling on his face, dragged him from the platform and disappeared.

"Silence! Silence! Let's listen to the Committee men!"

"They're going to fire again! Oh, what a day! A volley again rang out over the heads of the people, a place where exhortations, accusations, threats, pickings, where people were summoned to join forces, labor camps, or colonial army from which they might never return, where peasants came to deliver rice, pay the poll-tax or failing that, to be beaten, tortured..."

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"If you agree, please raise your hands!"

"Raise our hand! How to do?"

Uproarious laughter rippled as a woman asked the question.

"But just put it up, quite simple!"

"Once more, Cai shouted raising high his hand.

"Those who are for school-teachers Hoi, please raise your hands like this!"

Amid loud laughter and cheers, hundreds of arms shot up from the crowd. Old men with dried beards round their eyes, men and women with sunburnt faces, giggling young people, all lifted their hands, to choose a new life for themselves from now on.

Nguyen raised her hand, she too had taken part in the election of the village committee.

"Very good. Now please put down your hands!"

More laughter among the crowd.

"With rights, now we put them down!"

Clapping hands was an unknown practice, but everybody felt that he ought to say something or laugh to share the general elation which changed everything immediately.

"We now proceed to choose other members of the committee!"

And the first democratic election in Ganh village went on.

(t) A poor village girl employed as a servant by landlord Khanh, a deputy to the Provincial Assembly.

(z) A poor peasant, member of old physician Giao, he's Xuan's sweetheart.

The Second National Congress of Letters and Arts held in 1957 dealt with the following subjects: culture harnessed to socialist revolution in the North, to the national democratic revolution in the South and the struggle for national reunification. It drew a clear-cut line between socialist and bourgeois ideologies and condemned revisionist tendencies in letters and arts.

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It belongs to the finest traditions of the age-old cultural heritage and continuity of the Lao people.

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Saigon Unable...

(Continued from page 1)

and released recently, disclosed that 4 of his comrades were still detained in Chi Hoa jail and that during their detention, all 5 were brutally tortured because they denied the false charges made against them by the police.

The movement of Saigon students has received a powerful backing from South Vietnamese students in Japan. On Aug. 4, the Association of Vietnamese Students in Japan made public a statement affirming their support. The same day, at a rally held outside the US Embassy, South Vietnamese students handed a protest letter to Tran Thien Khanh then in Tokyo for secret talks with the reactionary Sato administration.

THE struggle of war wounded and disabled for better living continues gathering strength. On Aug. 4, in Vinh Trang, an important military base 317 km northeast of Saigon, offices of the province chief were razed by 1,000 who wounded a number of them coming from the US. Can Ranh base some 100 km away.

In Quang Ngai, 122 km southeast of Da Nang, on Aug. 5, 2,000 were wounded and wives and children of provincial soldiers killed in an action staged a bolterous demonstration in front of the residence of the province chief. On Aug. 6, more than 500 were wounded and members of the residence of the governor of Gia Dinh province, next door to Saigon, the latter refusing to meet them, an ex-captain of the provincial army, belly open with a knife, and another war wounded

slashed his own arm in protest.

On Aug. 13, in Bien Hoa, 23 km northeast of Saigon, a puppet troops' column of 600 war wounded moving towards Ho Nai in search of a site to build their lodging. The firing claimed 6 wounded. 100 thousand refugees then comrades carried them to Saigon and deposited them in front of Thien's palace where a big demonstration was held on Aug. 14.

Similar actions were mounted in Hue in the first weeks of August, against the puppet authorities' failure to keep their promise to their wounded and disabled of their own armed forces.

THE crackdown of the Thien clique on the press continued unabated. In the first days of this month, the puppet administration seized 12 issues of a progressive daily. The press, however, did not attack the US-puppet regime of *Dam Cak* (Democracy) on Aug. 4, wrote, "A cease-fire and the US troops pull-out are necessary for the establishment of democracy in Viet Nam." *Tin Mai* (Confidential Report) the same day published a poem glorifying peace and protesting war for which the Americans were responsible.

In its editorial on Aug. 7, *Tin Mai* (Sovereignty) wrote, "The leaders of the present regime can in no way break popular opposition with violence, threats or bribery. This regime cannot survive without foreign support."

For its part, the People's Committee of Aug. 17 the setting up of "People's Committees of Action against Rigged Elections" in which those most constituting the hard core. The April issue of *Dam Cak Mai* (New De-

mocracy) was seized for having affirmed that "peace will be re-established when we cease being at the foreigners' beck and call."

BUDHISTS' agitation was also kept up. In Da Nang, a monk immolated himself by fire on Aug. 16, to protest the puppet administration and the Americans; it was the 3rd self-immolation in ten weeks.

Defying puppet authorities, on Aug. 16, in announcing the reply from the representative of the PRG of the RSVN, Superior Thich Huu Ky, Quang, Secretary General of the Institute for the Protection of Buddhist Affairs, acknowledged that the PRG really desired peace and had shown moderation and a spirit of union.

For its part, the "Committee for the Defence of the Women's Right to Live," representative of a former first lady of the Saigon regime, demanded on Aug. 2 "an end to prostitution, the origins of which is the presence in South Viet Nam of foreign troops."

The Western press reported on Aug. 17 that 80 representatives of 15,000 "displaced persons" crowded into a refugee's camp in Cho Lon before hunger-strike and had shaved their heads to protest neglect of their fate.

A significant indication of the strong popular feeling against the US-puppets has just been the publication in Western press in connection with the election campaign for the partial renewal of the puppet Senate: the slogans put forward by the tickets, legal for that, were invariably directed against the Thieu-Ky-Khieu clique and their masters: "Yankee go home, we didn't ask you to resign!" or "Peace now!" As Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme has rightly put it, failure of violence cannot be transformed into success by increased violence.

25 Years Ago

(Continued from page 1)

3) The anti-Japanese struggle for national salvation led by the Party has grown increasingly strengthened and has been spreading all over South, Central and North Viet Nam. Guerrilla bases have been enlarged, the liberated zones and the Liberation Armed Forces established. Local popular power has been set up in six provinces of the highlands and mountains of North Viet Nam. Over a million people have been won to defend democratic rights and exempted from taxes and corvees.

4) The Japanese command in Indochina has been deeply split. Japanese troops morale has been sinking, the pro-Japanese Vietnamese traitors are panic-stricken.

5) The Allied Forces are about to enter our country and the French imperialists are attempting a comeback to Indochina.

6) The whole people are spoiling for general insurrection to wrench back independence.

THE PARTY'S LINE

i) The golden opportunity for us to reconquer our independence is drawing near.

ii) The situation has become a great emergency. Every deed should be guided by three principles:

a) Concentration: bend all our energies on the main tasks.

b) Unity: military and political unity, unity in action and in command.

c) Timing: act timely, not to miss any opportunity.

3) The objective of our effort is to regain total independence.

4) The present battle cry is:

- Down with aggression!

- Total independence!

- Power for the people!

* Date of the coup d'état staged by the Japanese to overthrow the French in Indochina.

South Viet Nam

MILITARY OPERATIONS

SOUTH OF 17TH PARALLEL

In Cao Baj region, southwest of Quang Tri town, Battalions No 1 and No 4 of the puppet First Regiment took 300 casualties and 40 planes were downed (August 5 to 13).

East and south of Quang Tri provincial capital, a US company was wiped out together with one hundred men of a US motorized infantry company, some armoured vehicles of a puppet squadron and 2 choppers (August 12 and 13).

PLAF guns shelled two CPs of puppet Regiments No 1 and No 2 and other positions along the enemy defence line from Dong Ha to Con Tien, causing one hundred men of a company and 100 horses to be killed (from the afternoon of August 16 to the morning of August 17).

Nam Hoa sub-sector, 8 km south of Hue city, was stormed: 150 enemy troops put out of action, a fuel dump and an ammunition depot burnt (night of August 6).

SAIGON FRONT

In two ambushes laid by the PLAF on Road No 22 (Xa Mat region) and near Trai Bi (south of Xa Mat) 113 enemy soldiers and 46 military vehicles were knocked out (August 6 and 7).

In a PLAF attack in Binh Tay province against many units of the US 11th Brigade, an infantry company, and an artillery company wiped out: 200 GI casualties, 7 cannons and mortars put out of action, 2 choppers downed (night of August 8).

MEKONG DELTA

Two enemy posts, about 30 km south of Rach Gia provincial capital, were overrun, enemy rescue parties intercepted, 200 puppet soldiers disabled including 2 "pacification" teams, 15 light combat launches sunk (August 10 and 11).

THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

(Continued from page 4)

Government should also be the day when Vietnam would offer the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic. Besides government lines and policies, an oath had also to be prepared which would be taken before the President and the Standing Committee immediately buckled down to the important task of wording the Declaration of Independence.

In a small, dark room of a house sprawling far inwards, in the heart of ancient Hanoi city, Uncle Ho was absorbed in his work, now writing, now typing.

The servants of the house did not know what the bright-eyed, chain-smoking old man in a faded down jacket which was worn the time he died, was working so hard at. Every time they asked him whether he needed anything, he would turn round smiling, and exchanged a few words with them. One evening, he said he needed nothing.

They were quite unaware that they were witnessing an epoch-making event.

One morning, Uncle Ho and Comrade Nhan (B) sent for us. The draft Declaration of Independence had been completed. Uncle Ho read the draft aloud and asked everyone of us to give his opinion. As he later told us, those moments had been the most pleasant ones in his life.

Twenty years before, he had come to the Versailles Peace Conference to press for the right of the people to improve living conditions and enforce democratic rights in the colonies. But even the most modest demands had been rejected by the imperialists. This had realized that one could not expect the capitalist to be sympathetic out of humanitarianism. He had learned that he could only rely on his own people's efforts and forces.

In those hours, on behalf of the entire people, he was

reaping the fruits of eighty years of struggle.

On that day, we saw his still enigmatic face beaming with intense joy.

Recorded by HUU MAI
(To be continued)

(1) 1945.

(2) Pham Van Dong's pseudonym.

(3) Pham Van Hoan, now Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

(4) Tran Dang Ninh, former Chief of the Department of Logistics of the People's Army.

(5) new member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

(6) new Deputy-Chief of Staff of the People's Army.

(7) A famed Orientalist.

(8) Truong Giaibach's pseudonym.